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A

CHAPTER

TO THE

ENGLISH MULTITUDE.

BY

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

“ HE, WHO HATH EARS TO HEAR, LET HIM HEAR ! ”

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CHAPTER

TO THE

ENGLISH MULTITUDE.

He, who hath ears to hear, let him hear!

A Number of writers and field-orators have lately used every means in their power to persuade the people, that all regular governments are the cause of numerous evils. It has been said, that ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE, ALL MEN ARE EQUAL, and ALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS and LIBERTIES, according to the laws of nature and justice. These sentiments, whether true or false, could not fail of pleasing the multitude.

The minds of misguided men, and of the people became inflamed, and in their mad fury they neither spared rank nor condition, age nor sex, innocent nor guilty. Kings, princes, nobles, bishops, priests, helpless women and children, the old, the young, have all been murdered with

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a most relentless barbarity. The philosophers or lovers of wisdom as they are called, the Jacobins and other clubbists, whom they inspired with their violent doctrines, have likewise been *murdered in their turn*; for furious mobs have no bounds, and kill friends and foes, equally, without reason. It should appear from this circumstance, that the first movers of reform wanted foresight; they might suffer a warm imagination to stifle cool reflection and judgment, and thus, unintentionally, they became the greatest enemies to human society, under the high-sounding words of *liberty* and *equality*.

If it be clearly proved, that man is not *born free*, that neither *man* nor *any thing* in nature are *equal*, and that *universal liberty* cannot exist in civil society, it is presumed, that every Briton, who loves his country, will firmly oppose, on every future occasion, those doctrines, which instead of more happiness, have produced inexpressible misery, and deluged all Europe with blood.

NO SUCH THING IN NATURE AS EQUALITY TO BE FOUND.

If man survey all the works of nature, he will find no equality. Every thing is unequal. Lofty mountains, high hills, low vallies, the roots, trees, and fruits of the earth, are all unequal in figure and good-

ness ; metals and precious stones are all unequal in value, brilliancy, and use. Is there no difference between a four crab, and the delicious flavour of a pine-apple ? Yet they are both called, in common language, apples. Are not herbs, plants, bushes, and trees, some higher than others ? Do they not all differ in what they produce ? Is there not a much greater quantity of common and ordinary fruits than of those which have the most exquisite flavour ? Does not nature produce an immense quantity of common apples, pears, and plumbs, and a small portion of nectarines, peaches, and melons ? The most precious things are most rare.

Does not this shew that all things are superior or inferior, and that none are *equal* ? Even the very oranges or other fruits growing on the same tree are never equal in goodness : therefore, in herbs, flowers, trees, fruits, &c. there is no *equality*.

Whoever examines all the beasts of the earth, the fishes of seas or rivers, the birds of the air, the insects, and every other production of nature, will find, there is no *equality*.

The great author and creator of nature seems, by his wondrous works, not to permit *equality* to exist. How vain then is man to suppose the possibility of *equality* ? Or how can *equality* exist in the world ? There is no such thing in nature as *equality*, and if *equality* be not in nature, it
never

never can exist in man. This shall be clearly proved.

NO EQUALITY IN HEAVENLY BODIES.

From earthly things let the brilliant heavenly bodies be examined. The sun exceeds in brightness all other luminary bodies, the moon is next in glory; the ancients considered them, as the king and queen of the empyreal heavens: the stars are next in brightness; but some, like men, are greater, and shine more brilliant than others. Comets with tails of fire, now and then appear, which run with the rapid speed of heavenly messengers. Do not all differ?

Are any of these equal? No! "There is a glory of the sun, a glory of the moon, and a glory of the stars," as the Holy Scripture finely, truly, and wisely saith: "but all are not equal in glory." The same may be observed in man, and all nature.

There is no *equality*, then, in those heavenly bodies that float in the air, and keep a respectful distance from each other.

WHAT IS UNDERSTOOD BY EQUALITY IN MAN.

What is meant by equality, if it mean any thing, is, that one man is equally as good as another; that all mankind are alike, equally
wise,

wife, and equally *foolish* ; or that human beings are, and should be, on an equal footing in this world : that is, *all have a right to command, and none obey*. This is the very soul of *equality*.

NO EQUALITY IN THE MIND OF MAN.

Man is composed of soul and body. All the knowledge or understanding of the soul or mind comes from the senses. The senses and understandings of men are different. Some are bright, sharp, and acute ; others are dull, flat, and stupid. Some fly into the regions of fancy, and have fired imaginations ; this produces a Homer, Virgil, Milton, or Shakespeare, who deal out pleasant and immortal fictions. Others think and reflect deeply, and rarely permit the imagination to get the better of solid judgment ; thus is produced an Aristotle, and in many respects, a Locke. Some blend *reason* and *fancy* together, and these have produced a Socrates, a Plato, and perhaps many modern philosophers, and writers of politics.*

* Plato's Commonwealth supposes all men equally wise, learned, prone to nothing but good, and enemies to all injustice, and evil. This is visionary, though Addison's Cato says, " What Plato thought, and godlike Cato was." Could men indeed be all wise, virtuous, and strictly honest, which has never been the case, such a Commonwealth might exist ; but as that has never happened, nor probably will happen, all that has been said on the subject is mere fiction of the brain.

Many

Many are readers, and become easy believers, without being capable of detecting falshood, in whatever fashion, folly, or knavery dictate. These are unthinking persons, who pursue their pleasures, or the unmeaning multitude, who commonly believe in whatever flatters their folly or unreasonable wishes. Thus it must appear, that there is no *equality* in the mind of man.

NO EQUALITY IN THE BODIES OF MEN.

The bodies of men differ and are irregular. Some are tall, short, fat, thin, brisk, or heavy, handsome and well-favoured, or crooked, ill-featured, and even ugly. There is no equality, then, in the form or body of man, for every one has his own particular character.

NO EQUALITY IN THE TEMPERaments OR DISPOSITIONS OF MAN.

In the tempers of men a great difference may be seen as well as in their thoughts and features; some are sweet tempered, humane, charitable, gentle in manners, humble, and avoiders of strife, and are generally beloved : others are ill-humoured, irascible, savage, selfish, and uncharitable, coarse in behaviour, proud, arrogant, and haughty, and prone to quarrel, to envy, malice, and revenge. These are feared or hated. In the natural

ENGLISH MULTITUDE.

tural tempers and dispositions of men, therefore, there is no *equality*. The mind is mutable.

NO EQUALITY IN THE WISDOM OR FOLLY OF MAN.

If from birth to manhood, and from manhood to old age, man be considered, it will be found, some become wise and cautious, and *look* before they *leap*, and pass through life with fewest errors; others are vain, obstinate, headstrong, are stupid, want foresight, and are foolish like a giddy mob, or multitude; who commonly *leap* and *break their necks* before they *look*. Some wish to excel, study harder, have greater opportunities for acquiring knowledge, and get before others, who are out of the way of instruction, or who are lazy, heavy headed or indolent.

Particular men have a knack of seeing and doing things much sooner and better than most others. Some are as sharp sighted as a lynx, others as blind as a buzzard. Different men shine in different arts, and are rewarded for their ingenuity; whilst vanity, folly, and defects in the understanding, or negligence, are frequently punished, through life, with disappointment and affliction, vexation or poverty.

There is hardly an action man can think of, in which some do not excel others in wisdom; where,

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A CHAPTER TO THE

then, is *equality* in the different gradations of human understanding? Could men even be made equal in body and mind, strength, and other gifts, they would soon be unequal: for some run faster than others, some are heavy and lag behind, whilst others push forward in full gallop towards a great degree of perfection; the earnest busy minds of the industrious are in continual opposition to the slow movements of the sluggard, and therefore man is not permitted to be *equal*. Idleness and sleepiness produce nothing excellent, labour and industry every good man enjoys. Idlers have no just right to share the profits of the hard working and industrious; but if *equality* should reign triumphant, the sleepy, lazy drone, is to fatten upon the honey of the industrious bee. This may be called *equality*: but it is as remote from sound sense and justice, as the north and south poles. It appears, therefore, that man, in no former state, now, nor in any future time, as far as man knows, or can observe human nature, has any right to expect *universal equality*.

EQUALITY A PHANTOM OF THE BRAIN.

Equality as lately held forth by Philosophers, or lovers of wisdom, their insane admirers, and the credulous, superficial multitude, seems to be a mere phantom of the brain, a mere vision of the
fancy,

fancy, a shadow, a vain conceit; which never did nor ever will exist, and the very authors of the doctrines of *equality* prove, by assuming the proud liberty of teaching others, their subtle opinions, that they thought themselves superior to those whom they taught. This, alone, should open the eyes of all people, who are not determined to be blind; for by what right or power, according to their own doctrines, dares any one to command the thoughts of his neighbours and equals? The people, if they had sense enough, might spurn and say, who made you a *judge and a ruler over us*? You have told us we are *equal*, and you preach *universal equality*, but practise power and tyranny over our minds; for by shewing your own superior wisdom, you call us fools, inferiors, and blockheads. Where is *equality* now flown? In what region is it now to be found?

A VIEW OF EQUALITY IF PRACTISED IN LIFE.

Let man be equal for a moment: suffer the goods of the rich to be shared by the poor; let the busy merchant and tradesman give all their hard earned property to their journeymen, servants, and apprentices. Let the farmer carry his threshed corn to market, and not sell it, but give it away to all who ask, to shew his love and high veneration for *equality*. Let the landlord

give up his rents, as all are *equal*, to be consumed by all the lazy tenants and people in the country, Let all the nobility, bankers and misers throughout the realm, throw out all the gold, silver, bank notes, rings, diamonds, and precious stones, in their possession, amongst the populace, to shew how sincerely they love *equality*. What a noble sacrifice! *Equality*, no doubt, would receive all these good things with open arms. Let all traffic and industry be at an end, and let every thing in the world be in common after such a glorious distribution. What would follow? Would the lands be tilled, or would corn be sowed by any one who had no hopes nor prospects of reaping? Would sailors go to sea when they could live lazily on shore? Would men prepare the necessities of life, even for food, raiment, or dwelling? No! All the necessities and comforts of life would suddenly vanish. All would stagnate, all would be thrown into dire confusion; all would come to want and wretchedness, however charmed by the fugged words of *liberty* and *equality*.

We should see men, women with their sucking infants, the old and infirm, the young and, heretofore, vigorous youths, and helpless children, begging, or all as far as they were able, robbing, murdering, and plundering all places, wherever food, or other necessities, could be found. *Hunger breaks through a stone wall*. Gold, diamonds, jewels,

jewels, nor riches, which the lovers of *equality* were so thirsty after, will never feed an hungry belly, cover nakedness, nor shelter from the cold any single human being. Hopes and fears are the main springs of human actions. Make all men equal in property, few or none would work. It is the hopes of *gain* moves the merchant to find employment for the tradesman, and it is the fear of *want*, and the hopes of *riches*, that urge the necessity of labour amongst working men. All ranks are obliged to each other, from the highest to the lowest.

The nobleman, gentleman, and mercantile adventurer, find employment for the labourer, and the labourer finds head and hands for his employers: thus they honestly and mutually help each other.

Every labourer is worthy of his hire, and every paymaster is worthy of the service of the labourer; but if, there were neither master nor servant, superior nor inferior, governors nor governed, all would go to wreck and ruin. Men cannot live on air, or on visionary conceits.

Every argument, therefore, that can be urged for the service and benefit of society, must shew, that no *equality* ever did, or could exist, and if it could, which in the present state of things is impossible, it would not tend to the advantage nor comfort; but to the misery and destruction of all human kind.

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The levelling principle of *equality*, then, is neither true in theory, nor applicable in practice, and can be only productive of horrid confusion, murders, rapes, and every crime disgraceful to human nature. What has happened, may happen.

Those, then, who so loudly bellow out *liberty* and *equality*, are either persons who wish to raise themselves by empty noise, by imposing on the multitude, and by destroying every human tie, which is considered the soul of social life; or they are the poor thoughtless dupes and silly believers in the miserable follies of the day. Experience, it is said, teaches fools wisdom; let it teach the British nation prudence. May every one take warning by what has happened in France.

So that in the heavens, the earth, the seas, and all that is therein, there appears no *equality*.

Liberty, and whether *men be born free*, shall be next considered.

WHETHER MAN BE BORN FREE.

To be free, if it mean any thing, is to be able to act as a man pleases in *thought*, *word*, and *deed*, but as the infant at his birth has no power to act in thought, word, or deed, it cannot be said with truth, that man is *born free*.

He who is unable to do any thing for himself except the grosser, natural functions, and who is obliged

obliged to others for his food, or starve, cannot be said to be free. If he were born free, he would have the free liberty and power of helping himself. Infants must be assisted according to the will of the parents, nurse, or assistants, and whatever being is under the will of others, and cannot resist, but obliged to comply, or perish, cannot be called *free*. Can man, at his birth, think, or know what *freedom* and *liberty* are? No, he can know nothing of either, and to say that a man is born with enjoyments, which he knows not that he possesses, and which he has no power to make use of, is to assert what never can, nor will be proved. It might as well be said that every man has an estate in the *moon*, if he could but get there and find it. Is it not many years before man knows what *freedom* and *liberty* are? May he not be educated in, and believe false doctrines and prejudices, and may he not, through life, be under the will and influence of others? Where then is man's *freedom*? So far from man being born free, he is never perfectly free through life; he who depends on the judgments of others cannot be said to be *free*: for unlimited freedom consists in being *self-willed*, and having the liberty of *self-action*, without any regard to the opinions of others, the laws of states, or of civil society; can any reasonable man say, at any time of life, that such a perfect freedom is practicable, or that it could be beneficial to society?

ciety? No! Then it must appear, that man is neither born *free*, nor is at any time of life perfectly *free*, and these words *freedom* and *liberty*, which have so charmed and cajoled mankind, particularly men of weak intellects, and violent passions, never did, can, nor will exist in the latitude expressed by the pretended lovers of wisdom, or their misled admirers and unthinking followers.

FROM YOUTH TO MANHOOD AND OLD AGE
MAN IS NOT FREE.

To render man useful in society, he must be taught something according to his rank, whether it be high or low, rich or poor.

Whatever learning is acquired by man must be acquired by application, study, or industry. All the branches of learning, the fine arts and sciences are generally adapted to, and studied by the superior, and second classes of society; the mechanical and more laborious, where most strength and least skill are required, are performed by the greatest numbers, the lower, and perhaps happiest, orders of the people. Whatever art, or science, trade, or labour is understood, it must be first taught: for however *free* a man may be born, or however *free* he may be supposed to live, he will find out little without instruction. Instruction cannot be useful without discipline, or the power of a teacher over his scholar. During
this

this discipline through the school and university, through the counting-house or warehouse, through the manufacturer's workshop or meanest artificer's hovel, those who learn must be subordinate, and under those who teach; for without such a regularity, little or nothing would be learned. If all the good things in this world could be got by idleness, who would be industrious? Quails and manna do not now fall down from heaven, as formerly, into the people's mouths; for miracles have long ceased! Labour, skill, and industry, produce, with the assistance of heaven, all the blessings man enjoys. While youth are scholars and taught, and, in some measure, compelled to learn any science, trade, or calling, they do not enjoy perfect *freedom*. Man, therefore, in early life, is not *free*. Even speech must be taught.

After manhood to old age, in every civil society, in every nation under any form of government, man is, and ought to be forced to comply with those laws which have been formed for the good of the whole. If this be true, which we presume it is, where is this *universal freedom, liberty and equality*? which visionists have fabricated, and folly believed.

Thus then, it is fairly proved from facts, which every man may observe in common life, none are *born free*, none have a right, in the present order of things, to do whatever mischief they please: and therefore the notions about *unlimited freedom*, are

as absurd, to the full, as the whimsical fancies of *universal equality*. Both are merely the rage and empty noise of the day.

ON LIBERTY.

The word *liberty* has lately resounded through all the earth, with great noise, tumult, and violence, by millions of well disposed persons, who seem not to know what it means.

Various are the sentiments and thoughts on *liberty* which have been divided into physical, moral, religious, and political. The last chiefly shall be considered.

According to some, *liberty* is the power of doing whatever any man pleases without controul. Under such a principle of liberty men have thought, and done, as their passions dictated. Murders, and every crime disgraceful to human nature, have been committed under the baneful idea of *uncontrouled liberty*. Are the horridest actions, which can degrade human beings, favourable to the cause of that humanity, justice, and moderation, which should always actuate every individual in civilized society? Are men to be left to do to one another whatever comes uppermost in their minds? Are all the mischievous passions of man to be let loose upon one another? If so, man would become worse than savage beasts: it might be asked, then, what is political or civil liberty?

LIBERTY, then, is the free exercise of the mind and body, according to the customs and laws of the country wherein a man lives.

No government can exist without laws and customs ; even savage nations, who destroy and eat one another, have some agreement amongst themselves for their conduct in life ; have their chiefs and warriors, who are superior and command the rest. Power must be lodged somewhere.

Civilised nations have written laws, administered by kings and governors, or authorised persons, to whom, in all regular governments, the people are obedient. Laws of every sort have been made to check the evil mind of man, to protect the good and honest, the weak and infirm, from violence, and to punish the breaker of laws according to different crimes. Most laws have been made posterior to crimes, that is, after crimes have been committed. The Romans had no law to punish a son for murdering his father, for several centuries ; and not until a graceless wicked son reeked his hands in the blood of his parent who gave him life. There was no law, at the time of Cataline's conspiracy, to punish Cataline and his wicked blood-thirsty companions, who had laid a plan for murdering all the best citizens of Rome, seizing their property, and overturning the government. Tragic scenes of this nature have frequently happened in the ancient republics of Greece and

Rome, and have lately revived in the republic of France. Every one who thinks, must know that no family can be well governed, without some power of parents over their children, and masters over their servants.

The greatest states are but a larger number of families, all agreeing to laws, for the mutual good of one another; without which laws, no nation could long exist; but governments, like men, are some better and wiser than others. There is no *equality*, then, in the different degrees of perfection, even in governments; but England is probably the most perfect of any in the world.*

The

* The liberty of different countries is different; and perhaps, in some instances, for very wise purposes; in hot countries, where passions are most predominant, and murders most common, laws are most severe. In Turkey the Grand Seignior takes the *liberty* of ordering any man's head he pleases to be cut off, and the Turks accustomed to this Sultanic imperial power, calmly submit.—This is *Turkish liberty*.

In military and eastern governments, the power of life and death is often in the hands of the Prince or Nabob, who orders men, women, and children, as his Highness may think proper, to be led to death. This is *Eastern liberty*.

In Spain, Portugal, and other Roman Catholic states, the Inquisition could seize any person they pleased, and imprison, torture, and murder, by fire and faggot, all persons of a contrary religious opinion. This is *Catholic, or Papal liberty*.

In France, formerly, the King, or rather the Minister and his minions, could lock up whatever persons they pleased, for life, in the Bastille, or other prisons; or perhaps have the parties privately destroyed, without any trial whatever. These and other oppressions, though never practised in the late mild reign, was *French liberty*.

The extent of liberty, both in the governors and governed, in various countries, then, is different. There are some nations where the prince has

In Russia, a former Emperor ordered his soldiers to fire bullets at one another, and instead of a sham-fight made a real one, and thus slaughtered for his amusement, many of his bravest subjects. At present, when the Crown gives any one an estate, it transfers a thousand or two thousand peasants, or countrymen, over whom the proprietor, it is said, has the power of *life and death*. This is *Russian liberty*.

To grunt and grumble woefully at the hardness and poverty of the times, and in shewing the keenness of their sorrows, to dash away on Sundays in chaises, curricles, gigs, taxed carts, and on hack horses; to cover the Thames with pleasure boats, and get many a good ducking; to kick up a dust in all the roads near London, jostle, overturn one another, and devour all the provisions of inns, ale-houses, and tea-gardens, are the glorious feats of our honest tradesmen. The lower classes of people, whose wages are greatly raised within these forty years, keep *Saint Monday*, and other *Saints* days, at times, in mirth, good humour, and jollity; unless some truly wretched *field orator* should roar out *reformation! reformation!*—the people are stripped of their rights, and robbed of their liberty, roast beef, and *plumb pudding!* Then, like gudgeons, swallowing the bait, they fall forth as furies, bawl out *Wilkes and liberty! No popery! No popery!* or any other mad whim of the day. To cheer their poor broken hearts under these heavy misfortunes, and shocking grievances, they get *tipsy*, quarrel, box fairly, but never assassinate like Italians or other foreigners, for assassination is not the *vice* of the generous, brave, and manly English. When they have drank their fill, kicked up a furious riot, and abused every body in power, they stagger home to bed, rise the next morning, go to work, and forget the frolics of the preceding day. These are some of the comical droll freaks of my good-humoured

honest

has much power, and yet governs with great justice and moderation. Frederic, the great king of Prussia, was an instance. There are others who have attempted to encroach upon the liberties of their people, amongst whom the late King of Sweden was a striking example. It cost him his life. [Strict rectitude, and a strict adherence to the laws of a country, are as necessary in the government of a prince, as in the obedience of the people; and the errors of either, if not persisted

honest-hearted countrymen, who, indeed, make great noise, but have little mischief in their hearts. From enjoying British freedom, they have more sheer wit and humour than any people in the world: cracking a good joke will frequently turn all their *folly* and *wrath* into *mirth* and *laughter*. This may be aptly called John Bull's *glorious freedom* and *humorous liberty*.

To smash windows, to break open houses, palaces, and sacred places, to murder whomsoever a *riotous leader* pleases, to make *rivers of blood flow*, and carry the bloody heads of even noble ladies upon a pole, or to hang up men upon a lanthorn-post, and the commission of divers other unrelenting barbarities, too horrid to mention, is *French Mob liberty*.

To be governed by King, Lords, and Commons, to be protected in our persons and property, to serve God as every man pleases, to be secure from the oppressions of the rich, and to live under a government where the laws and rights of man are equal, according to ranks in society. To be tried on all occasions by an English jury, &c. and to live in a country where the *King can do no wrong*, nor the proudest noble injure the poorest peasant without being amenable to the laws; and many other privileges unknown in any other country in the world, is *English freedom* and *liberty*, which may it please God long to preserve inviolate. Compare this liberty with *that of all other nations in the world*, and complain, if you
can, in,

in, should be amicably settled amongst themselves, like the feuds of a family, without the interference of interlopers, passion or violence. Perfection is not the lot of man.] Faults may be found in every kingdom throughout the earth; but it is easier to find fault than to remedy evils. Mankind are more delighted to hear censure, detraction, and calumny, than the justest praises superior wisdom and merit demand; the former is received with open ears, and rapidly circulated; the latter is coolly heard, and often, through envy, stifled and suppressed. Virtue has its own reward.

The frailties of human nature are common to all men, rich or poor, and "*he who is without sin, let him cast the first stone.*" In such a mild state of mind, men would be less violent and more cautious, less liable to deceive, or be deceived; they first would look into their own hearts, and perhaps all would find great room for amendment. They would take out the *beam* from their own eye, before they pointed at the *mole* in their neighbour's; they would not then, as many do now, "*strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.*" *

It is not intended to make a long discourse, but to point out to all who will open their eyes, ears, and understanding, the dangerous notions which have spread abroad like wild-fire: notions which have made many honest-meaning people go astray from the truth, and become unhappy dupes to the old family of vain-glorious schemers, and over-heated babbling wrongheads.

* *Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit.* No mortal is wise at all times. WILD

WILD BEASTS AND ALL MISCHIEVOUS ANIMALS
BORN WITH AS FREE LIBERTY AS MAN.

It is astonishing that the visionary writers and pretended believers in universal liberty, equality and rights of man, have not extended their tenderness to the brute creation. Is man born more free than vultures, eagles, lions, tygers, leopards, wolves, or bears, crocodiles, alligators, or sharks? What can be *naturally* more free, than the ranging wild beasts of forests, or woods, birds of the air, insects, reptiles, or fishes of the sea? yet their *liberty* is curtailed by man. *

In

* Do not oxen, sheep, horses, mules, and asses, and a variety of other animals, come into the world fully as free as man? But has not man taken away their *natural freedom*, by slaughtering some, bridling the horse, harnessing the mule, and forcing the poor patient animal, the ass, to carry the panniers?

Do not snakes, adders, hornets, wasps, locusts, and all the insects, which destroy the fruits and corn of the earth, and annoy man and beast, breathe the same air, and have they not been created as free, and by the same Supreme Being as created man?

Has not man declared war against wild beasts, wolves, &c. and all those fierce and noxious animals which would devour little children, themselves, their flocks of sheep and innocent lambs; and has not man, without mercy, destroyed their whole race, as far as his power extended? Has he not led the innocent lamb, and the simple, fattened calf to slaughter, and brought the West-Indian turtle, and the Northern Sea turbot, and venison, the flesh of the innocent deer, to smok upon the same table, to regale his voracious and insatiable appetite? Why should not rats, mice, moles, and
othe

In the height of their benevolence, why have they not imported rich cargoes of lions, fierce tygers, leopards, jackalls, and all the savage beasts of Africa, Asia, and America? Why have they not filled our rivers with alligators and crocodiles? Why have they not contrived to bring eagles and vultures to devour our young children, and locusts to gormandize in our corn fields? Why have they not brought these wild and destructive animals to bask in the sunshine of their *sweet liberty*, and prowl, at large, through the streets of London, and all the countries of Europe? They hesitate!—they stand astonished at the

other free-booters, be allowed to pursue their natural thieving occupations, according to their instincts and propensities in nature? This is ascending to *first principles*, and to *nature in its original state*, according to the rules observed by authors in their abstracted notions of man. [The writers and believers in *universal equality*, *free birth*, and *liberty*, would give man unbounded liberty and power to pursue his natural inclinations; wise, virtuous, vicious, or blood-thirsty, inhuman, or rapacious, and yet the same persons would deny the brute creation, that *liberty* which they have as equal a right to, according to the speculative opinions of modern philosophers, and the laws of savage nature, as man.

In a state of paradise, and in the golden age of the poets, the lion and lamb, tyger and wolves, lived in social intercourse without hurting one another, and man had power over the beasts of the earth, and lived in a state of innocence; but after the fall it seems the mildness of beasts and the innocence of man ceased, except in the wonderful miracle by which Noah and his family were saved at the time of the deluge. Ovid paints a similar story in the history of Deucalion, which some say is borrowed from holy writ.

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question!—they pause—they eagerly run away and hide themselves, as peaceable subjects do, to avoid the furious and frantic deeds of a riotous mad multitude. The savage beasts, they say, must be under controul, destroyed, or banished at a great distance from the habitations of man; but man, some of whom are as ferocious as tygers, as rapacious as vultures, and as cunning, undermining, and insidious as crocodiles, wolves, and foxes, or as fawning as spaniels, when they mean to deceive, is to be at full liberty, with all his natural, acquired, and studied vices, to pursue his wicked inclinations, as passions, artifice, self-interest, and every human crime his fancy dictates. Such enormities are to be committed then, at the expence of his innocent fellow-creatures, who fear God, honour the king, and all in authority under him, and who deviate, as little as possible, from the paths of virtue and integrity. Is savage nature to be, or not to be corrected, or suppressed?

Ought not peaceable and good subjects to be protected from the direful violence of the enraged and infatuated? Can any thing but spirited laws and rapid execution suppress spirited tumults and violent seditions? No. If the laws were suffered to *sleep* on such serious occasions, no man could *sleep* peaceably in his bed.

It is difficult to know how to act: Humanity recommends lenity; but the good of all human society,

society, firmness: France has been lost for want of the latter; let Great Britain take the warning. *Prevention* is better than *punishment*. The partizans of tumult and confusion may roar out *liberty* and *equality*, as the signals of injustice, slaughter, and bloodshed. The misguided people may be guilty of the most enormous excesses of every kind; but they are commonly punished with the loss of their lives, and all they hold dear in the world. *Justice, though lame a-foot, never fails to overtake a villain.**

WHETHER

* A notable instance of this has happened in France, where the Duke of Orleans, nearly related to the King, appeared one of the first in the Convention to pass the bloody sentence which deprived the most amiable monarch of his life. After this bloody deed, faction succeeded faction, one set of bloody-minded murderers another, until almost every man who had so precipitately and furiously voted the death of the King, was guillotined, shot, hung on a gibbet, or ended his life in some frightfully shocking manner. If the perpetrators of those bloody scenes had only been punished, few would have regretted their wretched end. It was just. The thing most to be lamented, is, that many thousands of the misled multitude who were charmed with the sound of *liberty* and *equality*, without knowing why, became the innocent victims of their leaders' crimes, and murderers were murdered by fresh murderers, who sprang up every day like mushrooms, carrying desolation, bloodshed, and slaughter, wherever they appeared. Thus were the unfortunate people rewarded with death, for worshipping their new-fangled goddesses, *birthright freedom, liberty, and equality*. These have been fairly proved

WHETHER REPUBLICS, OR REGAL GOVERNMENTS
BE BEST ADAPTED FOR THE SAFETY OF PER-
SONS, THE SECURITY OF PROPERTY, AND FOR
THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE.

It has been seen upon what a shallow foundation great kingdoms and states have been overturned by the unmeaning words of *liberty* and *equality*. [There might have been great abuses in some of those states, which required prompt reformation, but not destructive revolution.] The same things have happened in former ages, which history fully confirms; but they never turned out to the benefit of the people at large. Had kings, princes, and nobles, legal governors and magistrates, been as vigilant as the destroyers of all regular government were active and mischievous, none of those great events could have happened. It may act as a great moral lesson to pride, thoughtlessness, dissipation, and vice. The punishment has been dreadful. Kingly and princely governments are most regular, on account of the different ranks which are subordi-

never to have existed, except in the wild, unbridled, floating imaginations of visionists, abstracted reasoners, who draw *general* conclusions from *single* and abstruse facts, and who either from design, or ignorance of the truest rules of logic, have first *deluded* themselves, and then would *seduc*e and *delude* all the rest of human society, without ever considering the fatal consequences that follow their *vain* and impracticable conceits in human life. Their motto is, *mundus vult decipi ergo decipiatur*—The world will be deceived, therefore let it be deceived.

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nate to each other. [Hereditary kings afford greater security to the lives, safety, and properties of the people than elective, as may be seen in the distracted state of Poland.]

[In the modern republics, after all the delightful sounds of *free birth, liberty, and equality*, those who have survived the various scenes of horrid bloodshed that have happened, assume the reins of government, under one form or another, and prove, by their own practice, in raising themselves above the people, that their words and actions do not correspond with each other.] They had sweet words on their lips, but adders poison was under their tongues. [If all mankind were equal, how came they to be superior? If universal liberty were practicable, and tended to the benefit of mankind, how comes it to pass that so many dis-

* No sooner is an hereditary King dead, than another succeeds without the least disturbance; but when the King of Poland died, the whole country was in a violent commotion. Bribery and corruption, riot and uproar, threats, artifice, and persuasion, were the implements of the designing nobles and others concerned in the election: by these virtuous means a King might be chosen who knew little or nothing of Government. Can the people be happy in such a kingdom, where the flames of civil war and animosity are lighted up in the minds of men, scarcely to be extinguished during the whole reign of the elected Prince? That distracted government could never be regular, nor permanent, and is now become a prey to its invading neighbours. So much for the blessed effects of *universal suffrage*, and *elective monarchies*.

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A CHAPTER TO THE

ferent factions have first exalted themselves above the multitude, and destroyed each other in a few years? How has it happened that those bright suns of liberty have entirely obscured or destroyed the *liberty of the press*, guillotined or banished each other, without even the forms of proof or trial? There is no dependance on any government *suddenly erected*. It is plain, then, that when the bonds of an orderly and regular government are once broken, no one can foresee what havock or destruction may be the consequence.*

What fiction created must end like a bubble of air. *Commotion* succeeds *commotion*, *faction* follows *faction*, intemperate passions imperiously reign. Anger, envy, malice, revenge, artifice, and corruption go hand in hand, to excite hopes or fears, and delude the miserable people, who commonly believe what they have heard, or are last told. Repentance often comes too late.

[All men of great talents are feared in republics, and those who deserve most of society, are banished, plundered, or punished with death.†]

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* In republics, as the persons who take the command of the public affairs are continually changing, and that by various arts, people dangerous to the state may be frequently appointed, there appears no probability of the continuance of such a government.

† Able generals, great orators, or whoever receives the justest admiration of the people, create jealousies and fears in the minds of the governors, and the most honourable men become

ENGLISH MULTITUDE.

The corrupt governors in ancient republics *sold* all their influence and power to the best bidder, and can we expect more virtue in modern times? Common sense and common experience answer No! * Golden temptations frequently get the better of virtue.

Philip of Macedon, and his son Alexander the Great, thus overturned what was called the liberties, but in fact, were merely the factions of republican Greece. The same happened to those conquerors of the world, the Romans. Could the multitude, or people, during these continual *changes* of governors, &c. and the consequent excesses, be happy? Were the persons, fortunes, or property of individuals safe? Was the master

become fatal victims to their envy and malice. It was exactly the same in the ancient republics of Greece and Rome. All sorts of artifices, contrivances, knavery, and corruption, were practised upon the multitude, who had faith, as now, in every pretender to liberty, equality, and patriotism. The wretched fate of all those republics has been long known.

* (How has Demosthenes thundered against the villainous corruptions of those who directed the affairs of Athens and other Greek republics; for which at last he was murdered, even by a sacred altar. How did Cicero fire away his eloquence on a similar occasion, and he was assassinated near Capua. Such are the rewards of virtue in republics. [Republics have been more corrupt than any other governments whatever.] When Jugurtha left Rome, he turned to look and take a farewell to the city, by saying, "Ah, corrupt venal city, how easy you might be corrupted and bought, if any man had money sufficient for the purchase." See *Sallust*.

sure

sure of the labour of his servant; or the servant sure of his wages, or hire? No! It must be evident to every one, that the reign of a *popular* republic was a reign of confusion, a fluctuating government, without stability to enforce the wisest laws, and without sufficient virtue to consider the good of the people. [Power was short of continuance, and most men pursued their own self-interest, instead of the welfare of the public.] The conclusion, then, is evident. [Regularity and order, lawful command in the superiors, and obedience in the people, are the very soul of kingly and hereditary governments.] [The people give up some power and property, to secure the safety of the whole.] [Crimes are punished and vices suppressed by the execution of laws which have been gradually improving many hundred years, for the welfare of society.] Is it not as audacious and presuming, as ridiculous, for any man, or set of men to suppose they possess more wisdom than all the human study, learning, and experience of ages? such a vain and self-conceited supposition, is the very essence of modern republicanism.

After this statement of facts, it will clearly appear, that hereditary governments, under emperors or kings, princes, &c. with just laws, administered without distinction of persons, as in *England*, are the best formed for the true legal liberties and happiness of the people; elective kingdoms are less estimable; but that least of all to be esteemed by reasoning

reasoning men, is a popular, republican, or mob government; where contending passions and momentary impulses, through want of reflection, bear down, like a torrent, every thing in the form of calm reason, wisdom, justice, and experience.*

WHETHER ANY TRUE ENGLISHMAN CAN RATIONALLY WISH FOR A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT, AND WHETHER GREAT BRITAIN IS TO BE CONQUERED BY FRANCE?

After the true picture, already represented, of the different states of *liberty* amongst various nations, can any true Briton put his hand to his breast, and say he wishes for either despotism, or republicanism? If such men exist, they must be desperate and sworn enemies to all order and justice in society.

Have we not an amiable sovereign, who has distinguished himself as the most affectionate son, the most tender husband, affable friend, and the best father of a numerous offspring in the universe? Is not our amiable queen, the affectionate consort of that illustrious royal personage and virtuous character, distinguished, as a striking example of every thing

* It remains for time to prove the foregoing observations; but what has happened in other republics may happen in France. However it may be, every lover of humanity and universal benevolence must wish all mankind happy under every form of government.

THE ENGLISH MULTITUDE. THE ENGLISH MULTITUDE. THE ENGLISH MULTITUDE.

laudable in a female character *? Are not these royal virtues a pledge to the people, of humanity, moderation, affection, and justice?

Are not our courts of law the mildest in the world, even against the worst of criminals? Are not our venerable Judges free from the influence of the crown? Are not our poorest labouring people better fed and clothed than in any other nation on earth? Do they not enjoy equal liberty with persons of the highest rank in the kingdom? The law, in England, much to its honour, knows no distinction of persons †.

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* Have not the nobles, gentry, merchants, and all the affluent in every part of the kingdom opened their purses, and generously relieved the distresses of the multitude on various occasions; but particularly during the two last hard winters? Were not thousands of pounds sterling subscribed, and given amongst all the distressed people in the kingdom? *Ingratitude* is not the vice of the generous English nation; they may be misled, but they are not radically and intentionally wicked. Is it in the power of King, Lords, or Commons, or from the highest rank, through all degrees, to oppress, ill treat, or injure the poorest of the people, without being liable to be punished by law? No master can legally strike, or in any way defraud his servant.

† What would an Englishman say, if he had no other food to eat than black *rye*, or *barley* bread, with an apple, or such like fruit, from day to day, from month to month, or now-and-then, as a delicious *ragout*, a little onion, leek, or clove of garlic? Yet all, who have travelled, know this to be the food of the poor in many nations. In Germany, and ~~other~~ countries, they feed their horses, and poor, with the same

Can Britons forget that they have frequently beat the French, Spaniards, and all other countries both by sea and land? Have Britons forgot the glorious feats of our Edward and Henry, who with a handful of men conquered all France? or the Spanish Armada? What is there to fear now? Have not our manufactures and extended commerce increased the number of our intrepid sailors, who never meet an enemy to *fight* only; but always with certainty to *conquer*. If we have had formerly a Drake, a Raleigh, a Russel, and a Blake, have we not had in our own times

same *black bread*, and it is but seldom, in many places, where the poor taste meat. Water is their commonest drink. Compare this with the *white bread*, beef and mutton, ale, beer, and porter of Old England. Can any Englishman, on viewing this comparison, wish for a change of Government, and with it, the miserable fare of those who come to conquer them? An Englishman who has not travelled knows not what he enjoys in his own country, and every one, when absent, pants to see his country again. Are French starvelings, with their meagre looks, and hungry bellies, to come over and eat us up? Will it be believed the English sons of roast beef are to be conquered by an army of French skeletons, or the devourers of *soup-meagre*, frogs, and fallad? It is not intended to depreciate the bravery of the French armies, for they have shewn invincible courage, and unbounded generosity, in resisting the orders of *Rober-Pierre* and his *associates*, when they were commanded to give no quarter to English nor Hanoverians. They have fought valiantly, they have conquered, but they have not conquered Britons, but effeminate Italians, inactive and dispirited Germans.

a Hawke, a Boscawen, a Pocock, a Keppel, a Hughes, a Rodney, a Parker, a Howe, a Bridport, a Hood, a Jervis, and a Duncan, with numerous others equally brave and successful in glorious naval enterprize? They have all courageously fought, and conquered the enemy of Great Britain, wherever they dared to shew their face*. We'll fight and we'll conquer again and again!

The liberties of the people, as well as the prerogatives of the Crown, ought to be equally preserved without diminution†.

But in writing account The interests of both are reciprocal, inseparable, and sacred. If any little misunderstanding should arise, is it the business of an enemy to

* It is suspected by some that in England there are many persons privately disaffected to government, who, if opportunity offered, would join the French in attempting the overthrow of our Government and glorious Constitution as by law established. This is scarce credible: if there be grievances to redress, let the discontented approach the throne, and the other branches of the legislature with decency, and respect, not by noise and tumult, and their complaints will be calmly heard, and, if possible, removed; but this is the time for defending the country, not complaining.

† The king's coronation oath is sacredly administered, in which the King swears to observe Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and to reign according to the laws of the country. It behoves the King and nobles, then, in order to fulfil their oaths, to transmit to posterity the power of the Crown, and other branches of the legislature, inviolate, as well as the rights of the people, who are to obey the laws and customs of the country, under those conditions.

both

both parties to settle the differences? Certainly not. Would the French produce less misery in our island, which they furiously hate, than to their own country, which they pretended to love? *

It seems, with sorrow it is spoken, notwithstanding the present enlightened state of mankind, that people in general are as ready to be made fools of as ever.† The people love to be laughed at.

* If we ask, what have the bulk of the people got by revolutions, or by the tragedies that have been acted? The answer is, Nothing! Does not the ploughman follow the plough; the carpenter stick to his chissel, and the cobbler to his last? Yes; unless the people in a popular phrenzy, elect them to a post in the state, and then they may have the honour and happiness of being *guillotined, shot, or drowned*, as hath happened to *Simon* the shoe-maker, at *Paris*, and many other vehement state-cobblers, and reformers of France. Is it possible any Briton can wish the same bloody scenes in England? How will the British married women bear the modern French liberty of being put away from their husbands at pleasure, and robbed of their children, according to the will of every married man? This is one of the new laws of *capricious divorce* under the curious reign of *liberty and equality*.

† A quack doctor, either urinal or magnetising, a merry andrew and a puppet-shew, a bottle conjuror, and a Cock-lane ghost; sham prophets, like Brothers, and others of his fraternity, and low fellows who pretend to be divinely inspired, and turn preachers; or any other madman, projector, pretended patriot, *liberty and equality* boy, furious zealots, and numerous impostors, can lead the multitude with as much ease now, as formerly; and during the rage, it is out of the power of the wisest counsel to set them right. Nothing but woeful misfortunes and fatal experience can teach the multitude wisdom, which often comes too late to be of service. The cunning sharps always laugh at the shallow flats,

Former ages have been as mad as the present. What was the building of Babel, but a delusion of the multitude, who undertook to erect a tower up to the heavens, to prevent being drowned?—What was Aaron's molten calf, but a vain delusion of the Israelites, in the absence of Moses? What was the ten years war in the siege of Troy, but a delusion of the heroic princes, and people of Greece, to revenge the injury offered to the beautiful *Helen*? It shewed great gallantry, but little wisdom. The multitude, as usual, when infatuation seizes them, were furious to lose their lives in this glorious cause, and would have killed any person who had been daring enough to have apprized them of their folly. It was out of the power of man to restore to *Helen* her former honour; but it afforded Homer a glorious opportunity of exhibiting his poetic genius. What was Alexander's conquest of the world, but raving madness; but the inspired multitude who followed him, were fully as mad as himself. A variety of other mad-freaks might be introduced, of great and serious consequences arising from trifling people, and trivial causes, in which folly and madness reigned for a time; but the *people* always suffered. What was the crusade, but the height of folly, where *Peter* the *hermit*, a poor fanatic priest, could lead all the princes of Europe, and their shallow people, to recover the Holy Land, and City of Jerusalem from the Turks? A foolish,
popular

popular delusion, in which millions of the multitude lost their lives, either by war, disease, or famine. At the time, however, whilst the fury lasted, nothing could stop their mad career. They courted misery, and they had their cup plentifully filled with bitter affliction ! The princes of that age were obliged to comply with the unreasonable desires of the people, and the pious fraud and madness of the times, or they would have been dethroned. What madness could exceed the belief in the pretended prophet *Mahomet*, who deluged whole regions with blood, to force into the minds of folly, a superstitious faith in ignorance and artful imposture. All these facts, and numerous others in history, shew, that the people, at times, have been frequently out of their senses ; but perhaps never more so than in their present dreams of happiness from *liberty* and *equality*. Future times will be surprised, or moved with pity and indignation, or split their sides with laughter, at the follies of the present day, as we do at what is past. How can we expect men to take *advice*, as *Swift* says, when they will not take *warning* ?

WAR ! HORRID WAR ! THE ORDER OF THE DAY.

It is now the moment for Britons to join heart and hand to repel an enemy, who thunders out nothing but war and ruin to the true liberties, and real enjoyments of Britons. The present precious moments should not be wasted in idle disputes;

disputes, on the justice, injustice, or expediency of the war; nor on the defection of our allies, of which there are as many opinions as men. Englishmen should be occupied in the most animated exertions for the salvation of the country: there can be but one opinion on this subject. The French hold out protection to the people; but breathe out destruction to the government. What artifice! What nonsense! Can government exist without the people, or the people without government? It is a distinction without a difference; an artful sophism!

Rouse Britons, rouse! and unite, unite! as one man, to crush the daring invaders of a country, constitution, and people, whose liberties, rights, and enjoyments, are the admiration of the whole earth. If we fall, let us fall nobly! But we shall be unanimous if the enemy appear, and certainly conquer. Behold the *Friends of the People*, the Opposition Members, men in power and out of power, all cheerfully joining the standard of *English liberty*. All animosities are forgotten when the salvation of the country is at stake. We know what we enjoy, but it is impossible to express what Britons may suffer by French delusion. The war trumpet of France sounds *liberty and equality*; the English lion roars destruction to all French deceivers and invaders! Let every soul be fired with the rage of war! to obtain a glorious and permanent peace!

FINIS.







